Central Intelligence Apedicy

Washington, D.C. 2050s

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4 August 1986

**Executive Secretariat** 

NOTE FOR: DDI

DDO

RE:

Philippines

On 31 July, Secretary Shultz

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indicated he would like to meet with Bob and Mike Armacost (and others it wanted) to discuss the Philippines.

called Shultz's office to acknowledge receipt (as Bob had left on leave) and to see when the Secretary wanted to get together. Given that Shultz would go on leave for three weeks just as Bob returns, it is likely the meeting will not occur before 8 September.

Knowing such a meeting is likely, however, and given Aquino's scheduled September visit, I thought you would like a heads up.

25X1

Attachment: As stated

DCI EXEC REG

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#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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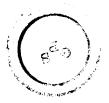
Bob Gates,

FYI

I would like a discussion (lunch?) with you and Mike (others if wanted) on the Philippines.

GPS

7/31



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> EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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S E C R E T MANILA 24334

NODIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RP

SUBJECT: JULY 29 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT AQUINO

REF: STATE 234685

- 1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.
- SUMMARY. I MET WITH PRESIDENT AQUINO ON JULY 29 AND FOUND HER ANXIOUS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE POSITIVE MOOD IN THE U.S. TOWARD THE PHILIPPINES DURING HER UPCOMING VISIT, AND WAS KEENLY INTERESTED IN CURRENT U.S. PERSPECTIVES OF HER GOVERNMENT. WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE CONCOM WOULD COMPLETE ITS WORK PRIOR TO HER U.S. VISIT AND WOULD CONFINE ITS DELIBERATIONS TO PROPER CONSITUTIONAL MATTERS NOT THE BASES. REGARDING HER RELATIONS WITH THE MILITARY, THE PRESIDENT COMMENDED ENRILE FOR HIS HANDLING OF THE MANILA HOTEL INCIDENT. SHE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HER GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN CHIDED FOR BEING SOFT ON TOLENTINO AND HIS FOLLOWERS. BELIEVES THAT RELATIONS WITH THE MILITARY ARE O.K., THOUGH MUCH MORE REMAINS TO BE DONE. SHE SAID THAT COMMUNICATION WITH ENRILE IS IMPROVING. CULTIVATING THE GENERALS AND ENCOURAGING HER CIVILIAN

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CABINET MEMBERS TO IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MILITARY. THE CURRENT PROBLEMS FACING THE NEW GOVERNMENT REMAIN ENORMOUS, BUT MEASURABLE PROGRESS IS BEING MADE ON THE MAJOR AGENDA ITEMS, AND PRESIDENT AQUINO'S LEADERSHIP ABILITY IS GROWING STEADILY. END SUMMARY.

- 3. I MET WITH PRESIDENT AQUINO FOR 40 MINUTES ON JULY 29. SHE WAS IN A CHATTY AND RELAXED MOOD.

  DESPITE AN OBVIOUSLY BUSY SCHEDULE AND A LONG LINE OF CABINET MINISTERS AND OTHERS WAITING TO SEE HER. WE TALKED ABOUT MY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND SIMILAR SUBJECTS. THE PRESIDENT SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT HER EFFORTS TO COPE WITH THE PRESSURES OF HER JOB AND HER DESIRE TO RESERVE MORE PRIVATE TIME -- "AWAY FROM ALL THE JOB SEEKERS AND PEOPLE WHO WANT TO WHISPER SOMETHING IN MY EAR."
- 4. MRS. AQUINO WAS GREATLY INTERESTED IN MY
  OBSERVATIONS ON PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN THE U.S. TOWARD
  HER AND HER GOVERNMENT. I SAID I BELIEVED THAT WITH
  CAREFUL PLANNING AND PREPARATION. HER SEPTEMBER VISIT
  SHOULD BE A GREAT SUCCESS. SHE SAID THAT HER DESIRE
  TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS POSITIVE MOOD IN THE U.S.
  BEFORE IT MIGHT FADE WAS THE MAIN REASON SHE HAD
  REJECTED THE ADVISE OF HER CABINET AND OTHERS TO
  POSTPONE A U.S. TRIP UNTIL NEXT YEAR.
- 5. I REPLIED THAT I THOUGHT HER JUDGEMENT WAS CORRECT. I SAID I HAD THE SENSE THAT MOST OBSERVERS IN THE U.S. ARE IMPRESSED WITH THE INITIATIVES SHE HAS LAUNCHED TO REESTABLISH FULLY FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC SENSITIVITIES AND BRING ABOUT ECONOMIC

RECOVERY. IN THIS CONNECTION, I SAID I THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT THAT SHE HAVE IN HAND A DRAFT OF THE NEW

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PAGE 04 OF 07 MANILA 24334 00 OF 02 301147Z C14/19 001520 NOD535 CONSTITUTION AND AN IMF AGREEMENT BY THE TIME SHE ARRIVES IN THE U.S.

- IN RESPONSE, MRS. AQUINO SAID THAT JUSTICE MUNOZ PALMA AND OTHERS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION HAVE ASSURED HER THEY SHOULD FINISH THEIR WORK PRETTY MUCH ON SCHEDULE IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. I ASKED WHETHER SHE IS ALSO CONFIDENT THAT THE COMMISSION WILL NOT LEGISLATE AWAY HER OPTIONS ON IMPORTANT ISSUES. (NOTE: I DID NOT MENTION THE BASES PER SE, BUT SHE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THE REFERENCE.) THE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT SHE IS CONFIDENT ON THIS POINT. SAID SHE HAS REFRAINED FROM TALKING DIRECTLY TO THE COMMISSIONERS ON THESE SUBJECTS. BUT SHE IS KEEPING CLOSE TABS ON THEIR WORK. SHE SAID SHE IS CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END, THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION WILL COMPLY WITH THE GUIDELINES SHE SET FORTH IN HER ADDRESS TO THE OPENING SESSION WHEN SHE URGED THAT THE COMMISSION CONFINE ITSELF TO THE CREATION OF INSTITUTIONS AND NOT TRY TO RESOLVE ISSUES OF NATIONAL POLICY.
- 7. AT THIS POINT, I ASKED WHETHER SHE IS COMFORTABLE WITH HER RELATIONS WITH THE MILITARY. THIS LED FIRST TO A DISCUSSION OF THE MANILA HOTEL INCIDENT. THE PRESIDENT SAID SHE HAD NOT BEEN TERRIBLY WORRIED BY THE AFFAIR, PERHAPS BECAUSE GENERAL RAMOS WAS WITH HER IN MINDANAO AND HE WAS ABLE TO REASSURE HER OUICKLY THAT THERE WAS NO SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM WITHIN THE NAFP. I SAID I THOUGHT DEFENSE MINISTER ENRILE'S RESPONSE TO THE AFFAIR HAD ALSO BEEN GOOD. SHE AGREED.
- 8. MRS. AQUINO WENT ON TO SAY THAT SHE REALIZES SHE

HAS BEEN CRITICIZED FOR BEING TOO SOFT ON TOLENTINO AND THE OTHER LOYALISTS. BUT HER FIRST CONCERN WAS

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PAGE 05 OF 07 MANILA 24334 00 OF 02 301147Z C14/19 001520 NOD535 TO AVOID BLOODSHED. ALSO, SHE HAS UNTIL NOW BEEN INCLINED TO REACT WITH TOLERANCE AND RESTRAINT TO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LOYALISTS. HOWEVER, WITH THE BRUTAL KILLING OF A YOUNG GOVERNMENT SUPPORTER BY LOYALIST GOONS THIS PAST SUNDAY, THINGS HAVE NOW GONE TOO FAR. SHE INDICATED THAT THIS INCIDENT WAS A DECISIVE FACTOR IN HER DECISION OF THE PRECEEDING DAY TO CHARGE TOLENTINO AND SEVERAL OF HIS SUPPORTERS WITH REBELLION.

- 9. SHE NOTED WRYLY THAT THE DECISION TO PROSECUTE TOLENTINO UNDER THE LAW HAS REVEALED ANOTHER FACET OF THE MARCOS LEGACY. PEOPLE ARE NOW ASKING WHY THESE LOYALISTS ARE NOT IN JAIL. SHE HAS HAD TO EXPLAIN THAT IN CONTRAST TO THE MARCOS ERA, DUE PROCESS MUST BE OBSERVED.
- 10. AT THIS POINT, I BROUGHT HER BACK TO THE OUESTION OF HER RELATIONS WITH ENRILE AND THE MILITARY. SHE SAID THAT SHE THINKS THINGS ARE IMPROVING ON BOTH SIDES. FRANKLY, WHEN SHE HAD FIRST ASSUMED POWER HER ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MILITARY WAS HEAVILY COLORED BY HER EXPERIENCES DURING MARTIAL LAW MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN HER HUSBAND'S MURDER. ETC. AT THE SAME TIME, MANY IN THE MILITARY WERE APPREHENSIVE ABOUT HER.
- 11. FROM THE BEGINNING SHE HAS HAD A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH RAMOS. SHE TRUSTS HIM. SHE HAS MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO CULTIVATE THE OTHER GENERALS GIVING SMALL DINNERS FOR THEM AND THEIR WIVES AND

TRYING TO SHOW THAT HER FIRST OBJECTIVE IS NATIONAL UNITY AND THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY. SHE SAID SHE THINKS THIS IS PAYING DIVIDENDS, SLOWLY BUT SURELY. LITTLE THINGS ARE IMPORTANT IN THE PHILIPPINES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE WIVES OF THE GENERAL OFFICERS HAVE

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- 12. MRS. AQUINO WENT ON TO SAY THAT SHE BELIEVES SHE NOW HAS QUITE GOOD COMMUNICATION WITH ENRILE. HAD HEARD THAT HE WAS UPSET BECAUSE RAMOS HAD ACCOMPANIED HER ON HER TRIPS TO THE PROVINCES AND HE HAD NOT BEEN ASKED TO GO ALONG. SHE HAD CALLED HIM AND EXPLAINED THAT IT IS NOT HER NATURE TO ASK PEOPLE TO DO THINGS LIKE THIS. SHE HAD NOT ASKED RAMOS TO BE PRESENT; HE HAD SIMPLY SHOWED UP. SHE SAID ENRILE REPLIED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD COMPLETELY BECAUSE IT WAS NOT HIS NATURE TO ASK TO TAG ALONG ON SUCH TRIPS. MRS. AQUINO SAID SHE HAS TOLD ENRILE THAT SHE REALIZES THE GREAT DEBT SHE OWES HIM AND EDDIE RAMOS AND THAT IF IT WERE NOT FOR THEIR COURAGEOUS ACTION SHE AND DOY LAUREL WOULD STILL BY TRYING TO ORGANIZE ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS.
- 13. I TOLD HER THAT WHAT SHE HAD SAID WAS ENCOURAGING. I STATED THAT I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT PERHAPS SOME OF THE CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF HER GOVERNMENT NEED TO WORK HARDER TOWARD A LESSENING OF SUSPICION AND TENSION WITH THE MILITARY. MRS. AOUINO SMILED AND SAID SHE AGREED. SHE SAID SHE IS WORKING ON BOTH SIDES, TELLING HER CIVILIAN COLLEAGUES THEY HAVE TO START GETTING ALONG BETTER WITH THE MILITARY.
- 14. COMMENT: I WILL BE SEEING MINISTER ENRILE AND OTHER KEY FIGURES OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS AND WILL THEN ADDRESS DIRECTLY THE POINTS RAISED IN REFTEL. FOR THE TIME BEING, I WOULD ONLY SAY THAT THE

PROBLEMS MRS. AOUINO FACES REMAIN ENORMOUS. BUT I
BELIEVE SHE IS GROWING STEADILY IN LEADERSHIP ABILITY
AND SELF-CONFIDENCE. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT. WHILE HER
GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO HAVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS. IT IS
MAKING MEASURABLE PROGRESS ON THE MAJOR ITEMS ON ITS

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PAGE 07 OF 07 MANILA 24334 00 OF 02 381147Z C14/19 001520 NOD535 AGENDA. BOSWORTH

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